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text requires an unjustifiably loose translation of both *fingras* and *burston*. I can find no other instance in Old English of *burston* for "cracked."

The passage should, I believe, be rendered literally, with the following signification, "[Grendel's] fingers burst [open and bled]." That the fingers referred to are Grendel's seems to be obvious from 764b-765:

*wiste his fingra geweald  
on grames grāpum.*

We must understand that Beowulf has seized Grendel by the hand, and is gripping and pulling it so hard that blood bursts from under the finger-nails. The sudden shift of subject from one person to another is, as I have shown above, everywhere to be expected in the poem.

Exact parallels are found in *Nibelungenlied* B. 675,

*Si druht im sīne hende daz ūz den nageln spranc  
daz pluot im von ir Krefte ;*

also in *Nib.* C. 657; and in *Salman und Morolt* 1609. The incident is common in modern novels; see e. g., *A Lear of the Steppes*, § 2, and *Micah Clarke*, chap. 21.

783.

*Norð-Denum siðð  
atelic egesa ānra gehwylcum,  
ðāra ðe of wealle wōp gehyrdon,  
gryrelēoð galan Godes ondsacan.*

Line 785 is usually rendered, "those who, from the wall, heard the howling," though Dr. C. Hall leaves the matter vague, and Professor Child ignores it altogether. Wyatt says in his glossary that *weal* means "burgh-wall," and some have felt that the appellation "North-Danes" also served to indicate that *wealle* here means "city-wall," as though we should translate, "the Danes who listen from the northern part of the city-wall." But "North-Danes" appears to be quite without significance here, for the same people have been variously called East-, West-, and South-Danes. Moreover, the translation "burgh-wall" is probably incorrect, since city-walls are nowhere referred to in the *Beowulf*, and are to be thought of, in general,

as belonging to a later period (cf. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 90 ff.).

Dr. C. Hall in his preliminary note to this passage (p. 45), suggests, "Danes on the neighbouring castle-wall." But this seems unsatisfactory, Heorot being built of wood, and simple in its construction. No fortifications other than the walls of the building itself are mentioned; the outlying "bowers" (140) are probably adjoining huts, surely not a neighboring castle.

The wall of Heorot itself is the only one of importance enough to be mentioned, and we must, I think, render, "The North Danes who heard the howling from the wall[s] [of Heorot]," or more freely, "who heard the howling in the house."

815 ff. In the *Mabinogion* ("Pwyle, Prince of Dyved," near end), there is an incident of a giant claw that seizes new-born colts. The claw belongs to a monster of mysterious nature, who, like Grendel, is also a creature of the night. Like Grendel, again, he escapes leaving his arm behind him. Lady Guest's translation reads:

"And Teirnyon rose up, and looked at the size of the colt, and as he did so he heard a great tumult, and after the tumult, behold a claw came through the window into the house, and it seized the colt by the mane. Then Teirnyon drew his sword, and struck off the arm at the elbow, so that portion of the arm, together with the colt, was in the house with him. And then did he hear a tumult and a wailing both at once." (Cf. *Beo.* 786-87).

CHAUNCEY B. TINKER.

*Yale University.*

## ITALIAN ACTORS IN SCOTLAND.

The following records of payments to Italian actors in Scotland are worthy of notice as showing early continental influence on the British drama. The record of 1517 shows that four Italian actors,—probably four of the

six mentioned in the record of 1516,—received a money payment on their return.

1514. "Et histrionibus Italicis in octo libris et octo solidis in eorum feodis . . ." <sup>1</sup>

1516. "Et per solutionem factam sex histrionibus Ytalis domini gubernatoris in triginta quinque libris per preceptum domini gubernatoris, dominis auditoribus testantibus preceptum, et dictis histrionibus fatentibus solutionem super compotum xxxv li." <sup>2</sup>

An. 1517. "Et quatuor histrionibus Ytalis in recessu ipsorum pro benevolentia de mandato dicti domini gubernatoris literatorio ostenso super compotum lx li." <sup>3</sup>

Next year there is a payment to a number of Italian and Scotch performers who were both trumpeters and actors. Scotch Latinization of foreign names is very irregular, and it is hard to distinguish the Italians from the Scotchman in the list. Pais occurs elsewhere in the Rolls <sup>4</sup> in company with one Guillaume, and is evidently a foreigner. To these performers are also given measures of barley, grain, and a goodly number of capons.

An. 1518. "In primis allocatur compotanti per solutionem factam Juliano Drummond, Vincenti Pais, Sebastiano Drummond, Georgio Forest, et Juliano Rokkett, tubicinis et histrionibus Italicis et Scotis [£155. 3. 4.]", also "una celdra duabus bollis ordeï undecim martis <sup>5</sup> sex duodenis caponum," <sup>6</sup> etc.

The following payment probably refers to the same five performers.

An. 1518. "Et per solutionem factam quinque tubicinis Italicis in quinquaginta quinque libris et novem solidis per preceptum domini gubernatoris, dicto precepto manu sua subscripto ostenso super compotum lv li. ix s.

Et dictis tubicinis Italicis in quinquaginta una libris preter firmas et devorias domini de Garviauch in rotulo anni, etc. V' decimi octavi dictis tubicinis allocatas, per preceptum dicti domini gubernatoris ostensum super compotum li li." <sup>7</sup>

George Forest signs the receipts for the players in 1522.

An. 1522. "Et eidem per solutionem factam Italicis tubicinis de firmis terrarum thanagii de Kintor in centum septuaginta octo libris novemdecim solidis et quatuor denariis per perceptum domini gubernatoris et Roberti Bertoune, rotuloris, dictis tubicinis per binas suas quittantias manu Georgei Forrest, unius tubicinarum, subscriptas fatentibus solutionem super compotum [£178. 19. 4]." <sup>8</sup>

The same year is recorded another money payment, with more barley and capons.

An. 1522. "Que firme et devoria predicta dicti domini de Garviauch assignatur sex tubicinis Italicis et Scotis in partem solutionis gagiorum et feodorum ipsorum, quilibet eorum precipiens in anno triginta octo libras et decem solidos" . . . ; <sup>9</sup> also "[4] celdre <sup>10</sup> [8] bolle ordeï [44] marte, [18] duodene caponum 48 duodene pultriarum."

Records of payments to Italian trumpeters continue with hardly any interruption up to the year 1561. In 1526 their salaries (£38. 10. 0), are made chargeable on the fermes and dues of the lordship of Garviauch, <sup>11</sup> and payments are made accordingly in the years 1523, 1525, 1526 and 1527. <sup>12</sup> But in 1529 it is directed that no further payments are to be made without the express command of the King ("sine expresse mandato domini regis"). <sup>13</sup> The old salary, however, is paid from the king's treasury in 1530, <sup>14</sup> and fairly regularly thereafter up to 1561. Beginning with 1547 there are separate payments to the Queen's trumpeters. But with 1561 mention of Italian trumpeters ceases; and as if to make a distinction, the payments thereafter <sup>15</sup> are usually said to be to "ordinary trumpeters." Thus in 1574 there is a payment to "quinque tubicibus ordinariis"; <sup>16</sup> and again in the same year "to the five ordinary trumpeters of the King"; <sup>17</sup> and again in 1588, "to the saidis ordiner trumpettis." <sup>18</sup>

<sup>8</sup>*Id.*, p. 431.

<sup>9</sup>*Id.*, p. 423. These are, of course, pounds Scots (= one-twelfth of the English pound); and shillings Scots (= English penny).

<sup>10</sup> celdra = 'measure.'

<sup>11</sup>*Id.*, xv, 220, 494.

<sup>12</sup>*Id.*, pp. 30, 156, 245, 312 respectively.

<sup>13</sup>*Id.*, p. 495.

<sup>14</sup>*Id.*, xvi, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> 1574–1588.

<sup>16</sup>*Id.*, xx, 165.

<sup>17</sup>*Id.*, 329.

<sup>18</sup>*Id.*, 398.

<sup>1</sup>*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, xiv (1518–1522), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>*Id.*, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup>*Id.*, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup>*Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, colxi.

<sup>5</sup> Oxen.

<sup>6</sup>*Rolls*, p. 300.

<sup>7</sup>*Id.*, p. 353.

These records show Italian players in Scotland sixty-three years before there is any record of them in England, and thirty-four years before there is any record of them in France. Their first appearance in the latter country is said by Brantôme to have been on September 28th, 1548, at the court of Henry II.<sup>19</sup> Petit de Julleville states, however, that there were Italian players of farces at Paris in the time of Francis I.<sup>20</sup> This would still be later than the appearance of the Italians in Scotland.

In the record of payment in 1516 to the players, and in some of the other records, they are said to be "domini gubernatoris,"—the Lord Governor's. The Lord Governor, or Regent at this time was the Duke of Albany, a Frenchman. James V came to the Scotch throne at the age of eighteen months. A governor being necessary, an embassy was sent to France to offer the regency to Albany. He landed on May 18, 1515, and left again temporarily for France in May, 1517. The players of 1516 are certainly his; and four of them left Scotland in the same year as he himself, probably returning with him to France. There are, then, two of the original six Italian performers still remaining in Scotland. We may be reasonably sure that Vincent Pais<sup>21</sup> of the record of 1518 is one of these original six.

Albany returned to Scotland in 1521, and ordered two payments to be made to Italian and Scotch trumpeters in 1522.<sup>22</sup> The fact that George Forrest who is one of the company of five "tubicinis et histrionibus" in 1518, signs the receipt, serves to identify the company. Though this company is not called by the name of "histriones" after 1518, there is very little doubt that it was an acting company

in fact. For with only one exception the company of five Italians and Scotchman, called "tubicines" in 1526<sup>23</sup> is in personnel exactly the same as that called "tubicines et histriones" in 1518.<sup>24</sup> We may conclude that this original Italian company continued to combine the arts of acting and trumpeting, until it disappeared from the records in 1561.

In the first entry (1514), the players are not named "the Lord Governor's," and in fact are settled in Scotland, and receiving a payment before the arrival of Albany. The invitation to Albany, was, however, sent in 1513. The Duke, who was Admiral of France, was at first disinclined to leave his country, but at once dispatched as his agent the Seigneur de la Bastie. This knight had been in Scotland in 1506-7, and had won rich gifts.<sup>25</sup> From 1508 to 1513 he had been fighting in Italy for the cause of Louis XII, and from there he went almost directly to Scotland. He appears at the general council which met at Perth, October 19th to November 26th, 1513.<sup>26</sup> Possibly the Seigneur de la Baste brought Italian players of his own with him, or players belonging to Albany, or players whom later Albany attached to himself. It is, however, safe to conclude from the appearance of Italian players in Scotland at the time the country was coming under the rule of Frenchmen, and from the dependence of these players upon Frenchmen, that Italian players were known at the courts of French noblemen in the earliest years of the sixteenth century,—a fact of importance for the history of early French comedy.

JOHN A. LESTER.

*The Hill School, Pottstown, Pa.*

<sup>19</sup> Brantôme, *Grands Capitaines François: — Le Grand Roy Henry II* (Œuvres Complètes, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1867), III, 250, 256.

<sup>20</sup> *Les Comédiens en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1885), p. 357, n.

<sup>21</sup> There is a John Pais, "tawbronar," i. e., drummer, mentioned as having received four payments, 1496-7, in *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* (ed. Dickson, Edin., 1877), pp. 280, 326, 340, 360.

<sup>22</sup> *Exchequer Rolls*, XIV, 424, 431.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, xv, 220.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*, xiv, 220.

<sup>25</sup> For his romantic career in Scotland vid. *Blackwood* (July, 1893), Vol. 154, pp. 132-144.

<sup>26</sup> *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, article on James V, p. 154.